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## DISCUSSION AND CORRESPONDENCE

### IDENTITY OF THE WESTO INDIANS

IN a recent number of the *Anthropologist*<sup>1</sup> Professor Verner W. Crane has placed on record some valuable discoveries relative to the Westo Indians who figure so prominently in early Carolina history, in particular his identification of this tribe with the Rickohockans who invaded Virginia in 1656, an identification which I cordially endorse. With his argument that the Westo were distinct from the Yuchi I do not, however, concur and for the following reasons.

Nowhere in the historical documents do the Yuchi appear under their own appellation, Tsoyaha, but under names either certainly or probably derived from other Indian tongues. Two of these besides the word Yuchi,—Tohogale, an Algonkian term, and Hogologe, of unknown origin but probably Muskhogean,—Professor Crane mentions himself. Therefore the employment of another distinct term, Westo, need not trouble us. It was probably applied by the coast Indians of southern South Carolina and is to be compared with the tribal names Stono and Edisto, from the same region. More important yet is the fact that two, and perhaps three, branches of the Yuchi were known to early historians and cartographers under distinct names. The Tennessee river Yuchi were almost always called by their Algonkian term Tohogale or Tohogaria; the Yuchi north of the present Augusta, Ga., about Uchee island, Hogologees, or Hog Logees; and those on Ogechee river by the name of that stream. The second of these is particularly noteworthy because, after the removal of this band of Yuchi to the Chattahoochee river it appears under its distinct name in spite of the fact that higher up is a Yuchi town so labelled. Therefore the fact that the Westo town is also distinct does not prove that the Westo and Yuchi were distinct peoples.

But there was still another appellation for the Yuchi, that given to them by the early Spanish writers, and first by the chroniclers of De Soto's expedition, the name Chisca. Proof of this rests on circumstantial evidence only, but that of the strongest. We have it first as of a people in the eastern mountains of Tennessee encountered by De Soto, Pardo, and Moyano, and we know that there was a Yuchi band there, occupying in later times a town called Tsistuyi, "Frog town," by the

<sup>1</sup> Vol. xx, pp. 331-337.

Cherokee, possibly a pun on Chisca, a town which the Cherokee destroyed about 1714.<sup>1</sup> The name occurs again as that of a "wandering people" who in 1639 were induced to locate on what is now Choctawhatchee river by one of the Florida governors,<sup>2</sup> and here a Yuchi tribe is known to have lived at a somewhat later period. They ultimately settled on Tallapoosa river not far from old Tukabachee town. Finally, in the Creek migration legend as recorded by Hawkins, Savannah river is called Chiska Talofa Hatchee, "Chisca town river." There is more evidence to the same effect which can not be set forth in full at this time, but if the identification is correct the following excerpt from a letter written by La Salle from the Illinois country about 1682 is of great significance. Speaking of the Tennessee river and the tribes living along it he says: "The Apalatchites, people of English Florida, are not far from some one of its most eastern branches, because they have war with the Tchataké (Cherokee) and the Cisca, one of whose villages they burned, aided by the English. The Ciskas then abandoned their former villages, which were much further east than those from which they have come here."<sup>3</sup> He mentions the Chisca in a later communication as one of the tribes which he had assembled about Ft. St. Louis (near the present Utica, Ill.).<sup>4</sup> As no war of consequence was waged by the Carolina settlers just before this date other than that on the Westo, and as there is independent evidence that the Cisca or Chisca were Yuchi, does not this reference add great strength to the argument for a Yuclean affiliation of the people called Westo?

The following letter from Governor D. Alonso de Aranguiz y Cotes, dated Sept. 8, 1662, is important because it seems to contain a record of the invasion of Spanish territory by the Rickohockans or Westo after they had been driven from Virginia, six years before. He says:

In a letter of Nov. 8, of the past year, 1661; I recounted to Y. M. how in the province of Goale, near this presidio, there had entered some Indians who were said to be Chicumecos which ate human flesh, and if I had not assisted in opposing their design they would have destroyed it, as I had news regarding others from Infidel Indians who came fleeing from them, and as I saw that they would retire by the way they came I made examinations and inquiries in different directions until I took four prisoners near the province of Apalachecole which is a hundred and eighty leagues distant from this presidio. Having sent infantry for

<sup>1</sup> Colonial Documents of South Carolina, MS.

<sup>2</sup> Serrano y Sanz, Documentary History, p. 199.

<sup>3</sup> Pierre Margry, *Découvertes et Établissements des Français dans l'Ouest et dans le Sud de l'Amérique Septentrionale* (1614-1754), vol. II, p. 197 (1877).

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 318.

the purpose I took some Indians of the Chisca nation to serve as interpreters of their language because there was no one in these provinces who could understand them, and they said they were from Jacan, that when they retired from the province of Goale they went to that of Tama and to that of Catufa, and that there they wandered about in different bands, and the said Chisca Indians, after having explained what people they were said that very near the lands of those people there was only one very large river, on the middle course of which had fortified themselves a nation of white people who warred with them continually and were approaching these provinces and they do not know whether they are Spaniards or English.<sup>1</sup>

It is to be noticed that though they are referred to as distinct from the Chisca, the Chisca are called in as interpreters, and Yuchi is certainly no nearer Mohawk than any of the other southeastern languages. My own solution is that the people called Chisca, who were appealed to as interpreters, represented an earlier wave of Yuchi immigration and the wandering people who appeared in 1661 a later immigration of tribes linguistically related, the bands known otherwise as Rickohockans and Westo.

If the Chisca were Yuchi, Spanish documents prove that they had penetrated as far as Florida long before 1670, and this answers Professor Crane's first objection to the position taken by Dr. Speck and myself. To his second objection, that there is documentary evidence that none of the Westo remained in South Carolina after 1681 I would reply that I do not contend that the term Westo was applied to all Yuchi any more than the term Hogologiee was always applied to all of them. It is perfectly evident that such was not the case. I will go farther and concede that the settlement of the people later called Yuchi and Hogologiee *may have been* subsequent to the expulsion of the Westo in 1681. My contention is that the Westo were a Yuchi tribe, not that the name was necessarily applied to all Yuchi. The historical documents indicate to me very strongly, if they do not absolutely prove, that the Chisca mentioned by the Spaniards were Yuchi, and that the Cisca of La Salle were the Chisca of the Spaniards and the Westo of the English. The statement cited by Professor Crane that the Mohawks were "strictly aleyed to the Westos" I think should be taken in a political, not in an ethnic or linguistic sense.

While I believe the facts favor the conclusion arrived at by Dr. Speck and myself and consider it more satisfying to identify a tribe with something known than to leave it as a mystery I have no deeply seated

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<sup>1</sup> Lowery MSS.

prejudice against an Iroquoian identification of the Westo if facts are produced to establish it. Although I have found that a careful sifting of material leaves very few mysteries in the classification of tribes, some such mysteries do remain. One of these in particular I will mention in hopes that Professor Crane or some other investigator may be able to furnish the solution. This is the identity of a tribe called Tamahita, which figures most prominently in a letter written by Abraham Wood to John Richards, Aug. 22, 1674, detailing the travels of James Needham and the—real or supposed—travels of Gabriell Arthur. The tribe was then in a stockaded town on the upper Tennessee. Some years later they turn up among the Lower Creeks, and a part of them at least lived for a time among the Upper Creeks. The memory of such a tribe, confounded however with the Timucua of Florida, was preserved among some of the Creek Indians up to a few years ago. They may have been Yuchi, Cherokee, or possibly, if the Westo were not Yuchi, identical with that tribe. A key to the solution of the problem presented by them has yet to be found.

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PROFESSOR G. E. HALE,  
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NEW YORK CITY,  
March 6, 1919.

*My dear Professor Hale:* At the meeting of the American Anthropological Association held in Baltimore, December 27, Professor J. C. Merriam, representing the National Research Council, made a formal statement of the plans of the Council in regard to the organization of science, and requested an expression of opinion on the part of the American Anthropological Association in regard to the position of anthropology in the work of the National Research Council.

In consequence of this request and the discussion following it, the undersigned were appointed a committee for the purpose of giving to the National Research Council information in regard to the work actually done by American anthropologists. A statement has been added pointing out the causes for the slow development of certain branches of anthropology.

The committee submitted a number of questions to American anthropologists and attached to this are a number of replies to our circular letter.

The general tendency of the scientific work of American anthropologists may briefly be summarized as follows: It is but natural that in a